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Vol. I, pp. 545-53, contains an index of names and subjects; pp. 554-58, a list of the passages quoted or referred to in the texts translated. Vol. II, pp. 602-4, gives a short index to this second volume; and on p. 604 of this volume are indexed the new supplementary texts, to which we call the readers' special attention.

The contributors, as we have seen, have, in most cases, endeavored to determine the date and place of the composition of these apocryphal writings. They find that most of them are productions of the second century. A few were written originally in Syriac; most of them in Greek. In many instances, however, the Greek text has been lost, and we have only translations, based either directly upon the original text, or, as in many cases, on first or second translations; thus, e. g., an extant Armenian translation may be based on an early Syriac version of the original Greek text. The extant texts are preserved in many languages besides Greek: in Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, Old Slavic, etc. In some instances—e. g., the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians—the original Greek text has been lost; but we have at least five translations, each differing somewhat from the others—a fact which makes the fixing of the original text very difficult, and at times almost impossible. The editor and his collaborators have made the best use of all the resources at their command, and are deserving of the highest praise and commendation. The only adverse criticism one could make is that texts and introductions are in a separate volume from bibliography and commentary—a fact which in many instances necessitates some repetitions. It would have facilitated the use of these books considerably if the general introductions of the two volumes had been combined into one and published as Vol. I together with everything relating to Divisions A-C, and the rest as Vol. II. A translation into English on this plan, we are convinced, would command wide attention and a large circle of readers in this country as well as in England.

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RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The professor of church history in the University of Tübingen, Dr. Karl Holl, is known to the readers of this *Journal* as the author of two *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1905, p. 82. To the literature given in the *Handbuch* add also "The Connection of St. Thomas, the Apostle, with India," by Philipps, in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 1 ff., 145 ff.; and "St. Thomas and Gondophernes," by T. F. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 223-36.

contributions to the new series of the "Texte und Untersuchungen,"¹ which, in a way, are preparatory to the present book, a biography of Amphilochius of Iconium and a critical estimate of his relations to the three great Cappadocians.² It is an important subject, discussed in a fascinating style. While the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers are being edited critically, studied exhaustively, and estimated as to their value and importance for the history of the early church, the same cannot be said of the century following immediately upon the days of the Nicene Council. The theology of the post-Nicene fathers has not yet received that critical attention which it deserves and to a correct appreciation of which Holl aims to make a much-needed contribution, with special reference to the history of the development of the Trinitarian and Christological terminology of the early mediæval church. Charged with a new edition of the works of Epiphanius, the author was led to a renewed study of the theology of the great Cappadocians, one of whom, Amphilochius, has been greatly neglected. Hence this contribution. The book falls into two parts, of which the first considers the life (pp. 5-42) and the writings (pp. 42-115) of Amphilochius. Amphilochius was born somewhere between 340 and 345 A. D. In his youth he was taught, together with his older brother, Euphemius, first by his father, Amphilochius, and then by Libanius in Antiochia, in his estimate of whom the author is particularly happy. After a short career as a rhetorician in Constantinople, he returned to his father about 370, and remained with him for a few years. Almost against his will, he fell under the influence of Basil the Great, his countryman, at whose suggestion he was elected bishop of Iconium in the year 373, as successor of Faustinus. Later on he became metropolitan of Lycaonia; played an important part during the second ecumenical council, 381 A. D.; and died before 403 A. D. Of his writings we have (1) fragments of the lost works, collected from fourteen different sources,³ among which the *Sacra parallela* of John of Damascus are most important. On the basis of these fragments Holl enumerates (pp. 51-58) sixteen writings of Amphilochius. (2) Of the eight homilies mentioned on pp. 59, 60, No. 7, the *Epistola synodica*, has not been doubted by anyone, and No. 8, the *Iambi*

¹ *Fragmente vornicän. Kirchenväter aus den Sacra parallela* (1899); *Die Sacra parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (1897).

² *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den Grossen Kappadoziern*. Dargestellt von Karl Holl. Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, 1904. viii+166 pages. M. 6.

³ By no means complete, as Diekamp has shown, *Theologische Revue*, 1904, No. 11, col. 332, beg., mentioning seven further literary sources, all of which contain quotations overlooked by Holl.

ad Seleucum, have been defended as genuine by Tillemont and Th. Zahn. The six sermons, Nos. 1-6, rejected by Tillemont and others, bear a strong resemblance, in style, exegesis, and theology to the fragments accepted as genuine, so that all objections to these fall to the ground. (3) The homily *εἰς τό· πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν κτλ.*, recently discovered by Holl in the Codex Monacensis gr. 534, is printed on pp. 91-102, preceded by a good description of the codex and a comparison of this homily with that of pseudo-Chrysostom on the same subject, rejected by Holl as a later plagiarism; and followed by an examination of the agreement of this homily with the other accepted writings of Amphilochius. The homily, as Diekamp observes, is quoted also by Pope Gelasius. (4) The importance of the writings of Amphilochius for the history of the church and the literature of the period. In this chapter the author takes up the church calendar of Amphilochius, with special reference to the spread of the Christmas festival in the East, starting in Cappadocia.⁴ The author strongly emphasizes the great influence of the Cappadocian church in the shaping of the eastern liturgy.

Having given us in the first part a good biography and a literary study of Amphilochius, the author proceeds in Part II, pp. 116-263, to describe minutely the theological views of the bishop of Iconium in their relation to those of the three great Cappadocians. In four chapters we have (1) the theology of Basil the Great (pp. 122-58); (2) that of Gregory Nazianzen (pp. 158-96); (3) that of Gregory of Nyssa (pp. 196-235); and (4) that of Amphilochius (pp. 235-63). A few introductory pages present a general survey of the theological views of the great Cappadocians. The important theological questions of the day concerning the Trinity and the historic character of Christ occupied, almost exclusively, the minds of these Cappadocian theologians, all of whom, even against their will at times, were influenced by the logic of Aristotle, and following the footsteps of their famous countryman, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, who directed their attention to the great master-mind of Origen. Basilus, though younger than Gregory Nazianzen, has always been looked up to by the latter as his authority and guide in matters of religion, without, however, being followed slavishly. Also to his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil was one of the greatest men, whom he followed in all questions touching theology and religion, without, however, thereby giving up in the least his own convictions. Compared with these three great Cappadocians, the theological achievements of Amphilochius appear superficial, lacking the depth of wisdom and the breadth of knowledge, the acumen of the philosophic

⁴ So against the views of Usener.

mind, and the thoroughness of method so observable in his famous countrymen. This the author tersely states on p. 263.⁵

In the year 1904 Joh. Flemming and Hans Lietzmann published a new edition of the writings of Apollinaris of Laodicea and of his school.⁶ It contained some important additions to the texts of Apollinaris published hitherto, chiefly taken from manuscripts in the British Museum. The Greek original has been reconstructed throughout by means of the Syriac versions. Writings of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Julius of Rome, and Athanasius are the essential components of this new edition, which is followed by a Syriac-English glossary. The book is dedicated to the memory of Paul de Lagarde and, while the work may not be done quite so carefully as Lagarde would have it, does not deserve the severe condemnation of Nestle, whose review in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1905, No. 21, is, to be sure, quite instructive; for he shows that the editors did not always use the edition of Apollinaris by Lagarde (1859) so carefully as they should have done, maintaining that the comparison of the Syriac and Greek texts is at times inaccurate, even in cases where no grammatical difficulties are involved, and calling attention to the fact that a number of biblical references are wrong, which by a more attentive study of Lagarde's edition might have been avoided. Lietzmann's name, as well as that of Flemming, is most favorably known to all students of early Christian literature; the former having done such excellent work on the *catenæ*, since 1897, resulting in the great *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, which he edited together with Karo; the latter, a competent Semitic scholar, whose editions of the book of Enoch, in the Berlin *corpus*, and of the Syriac Didascalia, together with H. Achelis, have been brought to the attention of the readers of this *Journal* on former occasions. The edition of the Syriac texts of Apollinaris and his school was crowned with a prize by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Göttingen; and based on it is the book, by one of the two editors, on Apollinaris of Laodicea and his school,⁷ which we will now briefly describe.

⁵ "Ein Bahnbrecher ist Amphilochius auf keinem Punkt gewesen. Aber er besass in praktischen wie in theoretischen Fragen sichern Instinkt für den kirchlichen Mittelweg und Energie, ihn mutig bis zu Ende zu gehen. Deshalb galt er in der Periode, in der die Kirche den richtigen Standpunkt zwischen zwei Gegensätzen suchte, als einer der berufenen Führer. Aber zu den 'grossen' Kappadoziern ist er doch nie gezählt worden. Und mit Recht. Denn etwas Individuelles, mit seiner Persönlichkeit verknüpft, hat er nicht zu schaffen vermocht."

⁶ *Apollinaristische Schriften, syrisch mit den griechischen Texten und einem syrisch-griechischen Wortregister herausgegeben*. [= "Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Philologisch-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Band VII, Heft 4.] Berlin: Weidemann, 1904. ix+76 pages. M. 8.

⁷ *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*. Texte und Untersuchungen, I. Von Hans Lietzmann. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. xvi+543 pages. M. 9.

Lietzmann sets out to indicate the importance of Apollinaris and his school in the development of early ecclesiastical history and polity, and endeavors to furnish a good and sound philological foundation for all future examinations into and discussions of the dogmatic treatises of that school. A forthcoming second volume is mainly to treat the exegetical fragments of Apollinaris and his followers, for which our author has collected his own material in his work on the *catenæ*. This volume will also contain full indexes and a critical estimate of the literary character of this whole school and period. The make-up of the present volume is as follows: (1) Political history of the period in which Apollinaris and his followers lived (pp. 1-42). As in the case of Amphilochius, so also in that of Apollinaris, we do not know the date of his birth nor the year of his death; his excommunication by Bishop George of Laodicea because of his friendship for, and devotion to, Athanasius, in October, 346, being the first known date in the man's biography. In the year 362 he was made the Nicene bishop of Laodicea, by the side of the Arian bishop, Pelagius, the successor of George. The christological problem early attracted his attention, and to its solution most of his literary work is devoted. The trichotomic conception for which he stands in history belongs to the later period of his life, which is of importance for the chronology of his writings. Although the heretical character of his teaching concerning the christological problem was sharply defined as early as 363, going back in its beginnings as far as the year 352, he was not condemned as a heretic until 377, together with his follower, Timotheus of Berytus (Beirouth), brought about in Rome by his principal opponents, Basil the Great and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. The great reputation of Apollinaris can be seen from the attitude of both his friends and followers, and his enemies. For the former called him "divine," as Polemon (p. 274, ll. 28, 29); "our holy father" (p. 274, l. 24); "the thrice sainted teacher and bishop;" so Timotheus (p. 277, l. 24, etc.); and placed his writings with the Sacred Scriptures (p. 289, l. 30). His adversaries and enemies, again, attested his importance by placing the friend of Athanasius among the most dangerous heretics, and carrying on a most destructive warfare against his writings and those of his friends and followers. The whole first chapter, in which these events are narrated, is most interesting and instructive, and presents, in connection with Holl's book, a vivid description of the ecclesiastical conditions of the eastern churches at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century; the western churches, with Rome as their center, were not affected by the storms which Apollinaris had raised in the Asiatic provinces of the empire. (2) The literary sources and the chronology (pp. 43-78). Almost all the later accounts of Apollinaris and his school are, directly or indirectly,

based on the work of Timotheus, bishop of Berytus. For the chronology the letters of Basil the Great are of vital importance. Here the results of Loofs in his book on Eustathius of Sebaste have been of great service to Lietzmann, as they have also been to Holl, both of whom pay due regard to this well-known publication. Of equal importance with the letters of Basil are the synodical letters of the bishop of Rome concerning Apollinaris and his heresy, as also the letters of Ambrose and Pope Damasus, and especially some of Gregory Nazianzen. (3) By far the best part of Lietzmann's book is his chapter headed "Geschichte der Überlieferung" (pp. 79-128), giving a most interesting account of the warfare against heretical writings by the orthodox church, the *Grosskirche*, with special reference to the works of Apollinaris and his school, most of which have practically been lost, existing in part only in fragments imbedded in catenæ and in quotations found in works especially directed against Apollinaris and his school, the earliest of which is the *Antirrheticus contra Apollinarem* of Gregory of Nyssa. Theodore and Cyril of Alexandria also bear witness against Apollinaris, and are of great value for their quotations from his writings, as is also the extant monophysite *florilegia* literature, to which we are indebted for the preservation of a few complete treatises. Another batch of fragments is gathered from the writings of those who since Justinian combated monophysitism, considered by them as an Apollinaristic heresy. Here we mention especially Leontius of Byzantium, *Adversus fraudes*; Justinian, *Contra Monophysites*; and Anastasius of Sinai (seventh century), *Doctrina de verbi incarnatione*. (4, 5) The critical estimate of the writings of Apollinaris and his disciples (pp. 129-63) and the texts themselves (pp. 167-322) are naturally grouped together. The edition of the fragments is especially noteworthy and bears comparison with the *Epicurea* of Usener, to whom, in honor of his seventieth birthday, the volume is dedicated. We are made acquainted with three complete treatises and 171 fragments from about thirty works and letters of Apollinaris and his school. The most important of the complete works is the *ἡ κατὰ μέγος πίστις* (pp. 165-88). The Syriac texts are given in German translation. The extant texts and fragments indicate the varied and manifold literary activity of Apollinaris and his school. To this latter belong (1) Vitalis of Antiochia; (2) Polemon, leader of the extremist party of Apollinarism; (3) Eunomius, bishop of Berea in Thrace; (4) Timotheus, bishop of Berytus, leader of the moderate party, conciliatory and willing to enter into a compromise with the orthodox *Grosskirche*; and several less-known writers. Pp. xiv, xv contain a chronological table of the events in the life of Apollinaris from 346 to 383 A. D.; and on p. 323 we find some additions. We

shall await with great expectation the second volume of Lietzmann's timely contribution toward our knowledge of eastern church history.

By far the greater part of Vol. XIII, Part 2, of the new series of the "Texte und Untersuchungen"⁸ is taken up by Paul Koetschau's contribution toward the criticism of the text of Origen's commentary on John, edited by Erwin Preuschen in Vol. X of the Berlin edition of the Greek fathers of the first three centuries.⁹ The essay is an elaboration of the author's review of this edition in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1904, No. 24, cols. 657-61. In this review Koetschau maintained that the emendations proposed by Preuschen and Wendland could and should have been greatly increased, and denied also the trustworthiness of the editor's statements concerning the tradition of the manuscript text. Hence this contribution, which in three paragraphs discusses (1) the marginal notes of the *prima manus* in the two manuscripts Mon. 191 and Ven. 47 (pp. 4-15), briefly treated by Preuschen in his preface, pp. xiv-xvii. (2) Corrections and additions (pp. 16-39) to Preuschen's edition. To the owner of Vol. IV of the works of Origen, Koetschau has rendered here great service, although it seems that, at times, he has gone somewhat to the extreme. (3) Suggestions toward the emendation of the text of this commentary on John (pp. 39-74), of which a considerable number are most excellent and convincing. Pp. 75 and 76 contain a list of the passages discussed. It is quite significant, though not unexpected, that the editors of the preceding volumes of Origen's works, Koetschau and Klostermann, should thus contribute the most searching reviews of this volume. Will Preuschen reciprocate by doing the same for the volumes edited by these two reviewers? Attention is also called, in this connection, to the important review of Preuschen's edition by Winter in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1905, Nos. 15 and 16. Harnack's *Analecta* toward the earliest history of the Christian church at Rome treats (1) of Ptolemæus, the disciple of Valentinus, founder of a school at Rome (?) between 145 and 180 A. D. Harnack makes it very probable that he is identical with the Gnostic Christian teacher, Ptolemæus, in Rome, who died a martyr, and is mentioned by Justin in his second Apology—a passage preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*, IV, 17, but unfortunately not in the

⁸ "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Neue Folge, Band XIII, Heft 2; containing *Beiträge zur Textkritik von Origenes' Johannescommentar*. Von Paul Koetschau. vi+76 pages.—*Analecta zur ältesten Geschichte des Christentums in Rom*. Von Adolf Harnack. 9 pages.—*Über des Didymus von Alexandrien in epistolas canonicas enarratio*. Von E. Klostermann. 8 pages. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. M. 3.

⁹ See my review in this *Journal*, January, 1905, pp. 178-80.

Justin manuscript. If these two are identical, Ptolemæus must have died between 150 and 152 A. D. (2 and 3) Two passages from the Coptic translation of the Acts of Paul, discovered by Schmidt, viz., *Handbuch zu den neuteamentlichen Apokryphen*, p. 364, ll. 11-16, and the Martyrdom of Paul, show that their author considered the church at Rome as the leading church of Christendom, and also that he had no actual, personal knowledge of the Neronian persecution described by him. (4) An examination of Commodian, *Carmen apolog.*, ll. 825-60, a passage based upon Rev. 11:3-13, shows for the first time that the real instigators of the Neronian persecution were the Roman Jews. Erich Klostermann expresses doubts concerning the genuineness of the *In epistolas canonicas enarratio* of Didymus of Alexandria. He reaches this conclusion after a careful study of the Greek catena on the catholic epistles, edited by Cramer.

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EARLY CHRISTIAN CATECHISMS

Almost since the day of its discovery the *Didachê* has been recognized as one of the most important pieces of patristic literature. It has been generally recognized from the first that it represents an advanced, rather than the first, stage in the development of the material which it contains. It falls naturally into two divisions, the dividing line being at the end of chap. 6. The first part, containing the material composing the so-called "Two Ways," is by far the more interesting of the two, and with this section are connected the most perplexing questions. Recent years have witnessed a revival of interest in this section, and much has been written to elucidate its problems. One of the factors contributing largely to this renewal of interest was the discovery by J. Schlecht, in 1900, of a Latin version of approximately the material of these first six chapters. A Latin fragment had previously been known, but it was too brief (containing only D 1:1-3a, 2:2-6) to be of much service in solving the problems which here press for discussion. But the service at this point of the Latin found by Schlecht is very considerable. It renders it clear beyond question that there existed in independent form the material of the "Two Ways," and arouses belief in the possibility of the recovery of its text.

Obviously, the first step to the recovery of the original text of the "Two Ways" is a comparison of the witnesses which contain the material so characterized. The first book which we have here to notice¹ is intended

¹ *Die Didache*. Mit kritischem Apparat herausgegeben. Von Hans Lietzmann. Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1903. 16 pages. M. o.30.